TL 2940

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

Deadline for Amdts — 17th May.

POLITICAL AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

DRAFT REPORT

on

East Timor

Rapporteur: Mrs I. van den HEUVEL

8 April 1983

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PE 116.178/rev.

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At the sittings indicated below, the European Parliament referred to its Political Affairs Committee, pursuant to Rule 63 of the Rules of Procedure, the following motions for resolutions :

- on 10 October 1985, the motion for a resolution tabled by Mr VANDEMEULEBROUCKE and Mr KUIJPERS on the reign of terror established by Indonesian troops in East Timor (Doc. B 2-927/85),
- on 9 December 1985, the motion for a resolution tabled by Miss BROOKES on the violations of human rights in East Timor (Doc. B 2-1146/85),
- on 9 December 1985, the motion for a resolution tabled by Mr van der LEK on East Timor (Doc. B 2-1150/85),
- on 13 January 1986, the motion for a resolution tabled by Mr David MARTIN and Mrs BUCHAN on East Timor (Doc. B 2-1218/85).

At its meeting of 4 November 1987, the Political Affairs Committee decided to draw up a report; it appointed Mrs van den Heuvel rapporteur on the same date.

The committee considered the draft report at its meetings of 25 February 1988, 23 March 1988 and

On , the committee adopted the motion for a resolution as a whole by

The following took part in the vote:

The report was tabled on

The deadline for tabling amendments to this report will appear on the draft agenda for the part-session at which it is to be considered.

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The Political Affairs Committee hereby submits to the European Parliament the following motion for a resolution together with explanatory statement:

A

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION

on East Timor

The European Parliament,

- having regard to its resolution of 10 July 1986 on the situation in East Timor(1),

- having regard to the following motions for resolutions:
  - motion for a resolution tabled by Mr VANDEMEULEBROUCKE and Mr KUIJPERS on the reign of terror established by Indonesian troops in East Timor (Doc. B 2-927/85),
  - motion for a resolution tabled by Miss BROOKES on the violations of human rights in East Timor (Doc. B 2-1146/85),
  - motion for a resolution tabled by Mr van der LEK on East Timor (Doc. B 2-1150/85),
  - motion for a resolution tabled by Mr David MARTIN and Mrs BUCHAN on East Timor (Doc. B 2-1218/85).
- having regard to the report of the Political Affairs Committee (Doc.),

- whereas the territory of East Timor was illegally annexed in 1975 and has since been forcibly occupied by Indonesia, and whereas this has resulted in a large number of casualties and widespread damage,

- whereas this occupation has been condemned by both the United Nations General Assembly and the conference of non-aligned nations,

- whereas human rights are being violated by: arbitrary arrest, deportation, ill-treatment, restrictions on the movement of persons and on postal communications, violation of personal privacy, the absence of the right of association and of freedom of expression,

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(1) OJ No. C 227, 10.7.86, p. 124

- whereas the cultural identity of the people of East Timor is being violated,

- whereas freedom of religion leaves much to be desired, and whereas the Catholic church has particular cause to complain about restrictions on its freedom,

- whereas the people of East Timor are not able to exercise their right of self-determination,

- whereas a very substantial proportion of the population is opposed to the Indonesian presence in East Timor,

- whereas Portugal is constitutionally bound to promote the independence of East Timor,

- whereas, since the accession of Portugal to the European Community, the institutions of the Community bear an even greater responsibility than in the past for the people of East Timor,

1. Condemns the occupation of East Timor by Indonesia and confirms the right of self-determination of the people of East Timor;

2. Condemns the Indonesian policy of keeping East Timor isolated from the outside world;

3. Requests the Indonesian Government to allow international aid and human rights' organizations to come to East Timor and to give them complete freedom of movement;

4. Condemns the continuing violation of human rights in East Timor by Indonesian occupation forces and by paramilitary and civil organizations;

5. Urges the Indonesian Government to comply with the international provisions on human rights in East Timor;

6. Calls on the Member States of the European Community to undertake political action with a view to securing a withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timor and respect for the fundamental rights of the people, including the right of self-determination, and to support the efforts of the UN Secretary-General aimed at achieving these objectives;

7. Requests the Council of Ministers to take measures aimed at enabling a referendum to be held after a transitional period, with the people being allowed freedom of choice on the future of East Timor;

8. Urges the Council of Ministers to establish contact with all parties involved in the conflict, including representatives of the East Timor community and to report to Parliament on the progress of its initiatives;

9. Requests the Commission to take into account the situation in East Timor in its contacts with the Indonesian authorities;

10. Urges the Commission, in cooperation with the Portuguese authorities and aid organizations, to grant adequate aid both in East Timor and in the refugee camps in Portugal and Australia;

11. Requests the Commission to give a progress report within 6 months;

12. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Council of Ministers, the Commission, UN organizations, the conference of non-aligned nations, the Government of Indonesia and the Government of Australia.

EXPLANATORY STATEMENT

A. Introduction

'Nor do we forget our responsibility as regards the administration of the territory of Macao and the importance of Portuguese culture in South East Asia. In such a context I must place on record my indignation and disgust at the dramatic situation still continuing in East Timor in breach of the most elementary rules of international co-existence and basic human rights. Portugal does not intend simply to leave East Timor to its fate and hopes that the Community institutions, in particular this Parliament, will give it the attention and interest which the seriousness of the problem merits.'

(Address by Mr Soares, President of the Republic of Portugal, to the European Parliament on 9 July 1986.)

Representatives of various political parties in Portugal (for a list of persons interviewed by the rapporteur and background information see Annex I) readily admit that for a number of years now there has not been undue political interest in East Timor. The explanation given is that after the revolution of 25 April 1974 Portugal had its hands full with its own political problems. Since then, however, there has been a strong revival of interest in the island in South East Asia. Politicians including the President have used every opportunity to point out that Portugal feels responsible for East Timor, that they reject the occupation by Indonesia and that everything must be done to enable the people in East Timor to decide freely on their own future.

It is not clear to what extent the phrasing used in the programme of the present Portuguese Government represents a change of attitude; it refers to a 'dignified solution' to the problem which, according to a subsequent government declaration, would guarantee 'the cultural and religious identity of the people of Timor and the preservation of the Portuguese cultural heritage in that area'.

Occupation by Indonesia

The occupation of East Timor by Indonesian troops took place on 7 December 1975 after the conflict between the UDT (Democratic Union of East Timor) and the ASDT (Social Democratic Party) had been decided in favour of the latter. Previously the Indonesian Government had attempted to cause disunity amongst the various parties and groups established mainly on ethnic lines, but that proved a failure: they came together in Fretilin. The rapporteur has spoken with representatives of these organizations who were united in declaring that the struggle for the right of self-determination of the people of East Timor had their absolute priority. Both groups have called for a referendum in East Timor on the future form of government and have stated that they will accept in full the results of such a referendum, regardless of the outcome.

The people felt threatened by Indonesia. Although the Indonesian Government originally assured them that:

'1. The independence of every country is the right of every nation, with no exception for the people in Timor.

2. The government as well as the people of Indonesia have no intention to increase or to expand their territory.

3. Whoever will govern Timor in the future after independence can be assured that the government of Indonesia will always strive to maintain good relations' (letter to Ramos Horta, 17 June 1974),

there was increasing concern at the development of an independent state on the periphery of Indonesia. It was feared that this could be a major stimulus for other local liberation movements, e.g. in Atjeh and West Irian.

The Indonesians accused Fretilin of a number of things for which there was in fact no proof. Fretilin was not practising terror; in fact it had taken upon itself the development of the countryside and had set up a large number of schools and health centres. Primitive but reasonably successful. Moreover, Fretilin was not asking for immediate independence, but stated its willingness to accept a transitional period of 5 to 7 years under Portuguese sovereignty.

C. The Indonesian invasion

The Indonesian invasion on 7 December 1975 did not come as a surprise to East Timor. The Indonesian forces occupied a number of coastal cities but failed to penetrate into the interior. On 25 December there was a second, much larger invasion which, however, was also not entirely successful. More and more troops and equipment had to be sent to the island to counter the recurring resistence from Fretilin. The people, who overwhelmingly supported Fretilin, fell prey to groups of murdering and looting Indonesians.

Portugal took the matter up with the United Nations, because it regarded the Indonesian invasion as an infringement of Portuguese sovereignty (the Republic of East Timor had been recognized only by a few countries). The Security Council condemned the Indonesian action and requested a withdrawal of troops followed by negotiations. The UN diplomat Guicciardi attempted in January 1976 to launch an inquiry into the situation on East Timor, but the Indonesian authorities blocked his efforts.

The question again came up in the Security Council. The appeal to Indonesia to desist from military force and to respect the rights of self-determination of the people of East Timor was repeated. In August, Indonesia was also condemned by the conference of non-aligned nations.

Indonesia took little notice of all the international protests and simply continued with its annexation of East Timor. A parliament was appointed to give an aura of legitimacy to the annexation. Nevertheless, it was hard to conceal how difficult the situation really was. The conflict had become a textbook example of a guerrilla war.

The outside world gradually became aware of the serious consequences which the war had had for the civil population. As early as 1976 a number of reports were talking of at least 60 000 dead. Fretilin's resistence was slowly weakened because of the duration of the war and the lack of outside help. After two years' war Indonesia decided to go over to a different tactic. In an attempt to isolate the guerrilla fighters, the Indonesians forced the population into camps in the vicinity of the cities. The evacuated areas were systematically bombed flat. The consequences were disastrous. It was no

longer possible to cultivate the land and this resulted in severe famine. On the other hand, Fretilin was weakened to such an extent that the Indonesians regarded the situation as safe enough to allow the Red Cross and the American Catholic Relief Service in. It is difficult to estimate the total number of victims who have died in various ways as a result of the Indonesian action. As accurate a comparison as possible of all the figures available suggests that the figure must be between 130 000 and 300 000 dead - or one fifth to one third of the total population. This puts the tragedy of East Timor in the same category as Biafra and Cambodia.

D. Recent developments

Until 1983 the United Nations adopted a resolution every year condemning Indonesia for its policy in East Timor.

In 1983 Indonesia decided to negotiate with Fretilin. In March there were talks between Colonel Purwanto, the Indonesian commander, and Fretilin leader Xanana Gusmao, which led to a cease-fire. . .

The negotiations were broken off in September 1983 and shortly afterwards fighting resumed. The decision to attempt to use military measures once again to break resistence was undoubtedly influenced by the new Indonesian Commander-in-Chief General Murdani, who had been involved in the invasion of East Timor from the very beginning.

There has been little improvement in the situation on East Timor since 1984. There has been continuous repression by Indonesian troops. There are regular reports of serious violations of human rights. It is estimated that several hundred guerrillas of the Fretilin resitence movement are operating in the mountains. They have been able to establish a radio link with Australia, thereby ending their isolation to some extent. However, Fretilin is not a serious military threat to the Indonesians. Conversely, the Indonesian army has not been able fully to eliminate Fretilin. The ordinary people are the victims of this impasse.

Indonesia is endeavouring to soften the impact of annexing East Timor by carrying out large-scale development programmes. A lot of schools and roads have been built and food production has been improved, although the figures published by Indonesia are questionable. In any event the famine prevailing in the late 70s and early 80s has been overcome. Part of the island is being cultivated for export products, in particular coffee, which benefit firms connected with the Indonesian army. Selected journalists and diplomats are occasionally invited to come and admire the results of redevelopment.

The information available suggests that the local population are endeavouring to maintain their separate identity and are refusing to become 'Indonesianized'. This is most apparent in the increasing role of the Catholic church. In the space of a few years the number of registered Catholics has risen from 30% to 80% of the population. It should be pointed out here that in Indonesia anyone who states he has no religion is automatically classified as a 'Communist'.

As a result the bishop of East Timor has been able to assume greater responsibility. The church is endeavouring to offer as much protection as possible. The Vatican and the bishop have condemned violations of human rights in strong terms. Amnesty International also conducted a campaign in 1985 against the violation of human rights of East Timor.

Another sign that the local population are closing ranks against the Indonesians is the recent political cooperation between Fretilin and the UDT, the East Timor Democratic Union. For a long time the UDT, a small party of businessmen and civil servants, advocated union with Indonesia but it now supports Fretilin's desire for self-determination.

Every year since 1982 the General Assembly of the United Nations has deferred discussion of the matter of East Timor because negotiations were under way between Indonesia and Portugal. However, these negotiations are proceeding at a snail's pace and are failing to take account of the most important political problems.

A number of former Portuguese colonies in Africa have ensured that East Timor is on the agenda of the movement of non-aligned nations. This is a sensitive point, since Indonesia aspires to leadership of this movement.

D. A problem for the Community

As stated above, in Portugal there is of course considerable political interest in the East Timor question. For example, the rapporteur witnessed a large-scale television fund-raising campaign for East Timor refugees. The question also played a role in the campaign for the election of 12 July 1987 when virtually all the parties stressed that the East Timor question needed to be solved.

A special committee of the Portuguese Parliament unanimously issued a recommendation urging freedom of choice for the people of East Timor. The responsibility of the European Community for the East Timor problem has inevitably increased.

It is therefore a matter of urgent necessity for the European Parliament to issue a public statement on this question and to help ensure that a political solution is found which is acceptable to the people of East Timor.

AGE, Saturday 13 August 1988

Fretilin man says Jakarta jailed family

By CLIVE DORMAN,
Darwin

Mr Jose Gusmao, a pro-Fretilin activist living in Darwin and working as a teacher, claims that 21 members of his family have been imprisoned in East Timor in an attempt to stop his political activities in Australia.

Mr Gusmao, who says he paid $25,000 in bribes three years ago to escape from Indonesia with his wife, said on ABC radio in Darwin this week that the Indonesian army had detained his 65-year-old mother, three sisters, a brother, a sister-in-law and 15 nephews aged between [illegible] and 17.

He said that people who had visited East Timor told him a month ago that members of his family had been questioned about how he got out of the country. He was told on Monday that the family had been rounded up and was being held at the Indonesian security headquarters in Dili, the capital of East Timor.

He said his mother, who had pleurisy, had been in intensive care in hospital for three months before her arrest.

"They've being questioned about how I got out of Jakarta and how I came to Australia," Mr Gusmao said. But he had told none of his family about his emigration "because of security reasons and because I didn't want to involve them in my activities here".

"I knew the Indonesian security forces would put pressure on them, would have retaliation against them because of my activity here," he said. "They're trying to stop me (speaking about) the violation of human rights in East Timor."

Mr Gusmao said two of his children had died of starvation after Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975.

He said he had been transferred to Jakarta by the Indonesian Government to be trained as a teacher. There, he and his wife, Fatima, had successfully applied to migrate to Australia but he had had to pay $25,000 in bribes "to get the paperwork processed".

Since his arrival in Darwin, Mr Gusmao has campaigned publicly in the cause of Fretilin, whose leader in East Timor, Shanana Gusmao, is his cousin.

Mr Gusmao and his wife recently appeared in a play written and staged in Darwin about the deaths of five Australian journalists in East Timor in 1976. He also took part in a recent demonstration in Darwin during a visit by the Australian ambassador to Indonesia, Mr Bill Morrison.

A representative of Amnesty International in Sydney, Mr Andre Frankowitz, said Mr Gusmao's claims were being investigated.

The Indonesian consul in Darwin, Dr Joseph Halim, said he had not been told of the arrest of the Gusmao family. He said he would respond only to statements by members of the Australian Government.

The federal MP for the Northern Territory, Mr Warren Snowdon, said on Monday that he would approach the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Hayden, about Mr Gusmao's claims.